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authorities to illustrate and expound the development. This type of study deserves special commendation because it is in a field where so little research has been done.

The volume falls into two parts: the first, covering something over two hundred pages, deals with political and social history; the remainder of the volume is concerned with industrial growth. The opening chapter is a study of the constitution of 1870. Then follow chapters on "Some Aspects of Social Life in Illinois," "Liberal Republicanism," "The Farmers' Movement," "Greenbackism and Democratic Reorganization," "Republicanism at the Wheel," and "The Political Machine in Operation." Chapter VIII, credited to Miss Agnes Wright Dennis, deals with the changing social attitude under the title of "New Forces Astir." Although followed by another section on "Art and Letters," this chapter serves as a connecting link between the political and economic portion of the volume. In his portion of the volume Professor Bogart has studied the development of cereal crops, animal industry, business development, financial problems, railroad transportation, waterways, the growth of commerce and manufactures, the labor movement, and the development of the mineral wealth of the state.

Although in most respects the volume is an admirable treatment of the subject matter the treatment is somewhat uneven. Necessarily in a collaborative work there must be a certain amount of duplication. From the reviewer's point of view, the volume loses something of its value by the separation of the political and economic portions. In some places the collaborators have covered the same ground with little reference to the work done by the other. This comment applies to chapters V, VI, VIII, XIX and XX, and to some extent to other portions of the volume. In this connection one wishes the authors had linked more thoroughly the general movements with those in Illinois. Also the student wishes the authors had given a more thorough study to the legislative history of the state. The shortcoming in this respect is indicated in part by the fact that whereas abundant use has been made of newspaper and periodical material, a relatively small amount of information is drawn from state documents.

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*The Non-Partisan League.* By ANDREW A. BRUCE. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. viii, 284. \$3.)

Many articles and not a few books have been written concerning the Non-Partisan League, the sponsor for the socialistic experiment which is termed the "new day" in North Dakota. Many of these publications, however, give only the facts favorable to the movement. The present volume is an exception to this rule and should be read along with the

volume on the same subject by Herbert E. Gaston, reviewed by the present writer in the issue of this magazine for September 1920.

Professor Bruce of the law school of the University of Minnesota was formerly justice of the Supreme Court of North Dakota and dean of the law school of the State University and so writes from first-hand knowledge of the genesis and development of the League both in North Dakota and in the adjoining states. The book is a thorough analysis of an interesting experiment in state socialism and is a substantial and critical piece of work because its conclusions are based on an intimate knowledge of the facts.

Professor Bruce brings out in successive chapters the development of the League from its inception in 1915 to the present time. He shows that at first it was a movement ostensibly for the betterment of the condition of the farming classes; that it was a protest against unfair grain grading, trading in options, and control of grain and cattle markets by outside business interests; and that it developed into a socialistic political party founded on discontent and aiming at the advancement of the political and financial fortunes of its leaders and the destruction of the middleman, the industrial entrepreneur and the so-called capitalistic classes.

The program of the League involves state-owned grain-elevators, warehouses, cold-storage plants, creameries, stockyards, cheese factories, a state-owned bank, a large extension of rural credits, a home building scheme, state hail and fire insurance, the exemption of farm improvements from taxation, and generally speaking the destruction of the middleman. Such a program requires millions of dollars for its execution and this is to be furnished by the state. This mixture of business and politics has not worked out well, as is shown in the failure of the Bank of North Dakota to function as designed and in the failure of the numerous banks in the state. Banking and politics are poor bed-fellows.

A more serious indictment perhaps is the interference by the League with the courts and the educational system of North Dakota. The control of the judiciary meant that the social, constitutional, and economic views of the League would be favored. This means that the judge is not a judge but a representative, and that his function is not to administer the established law, leaving it to the legislatures and the constitutional amendments to change the law and to keep it responsive to the growing needs of the age.

Reports made to the North Dakota legislature of 1921 disclosed the actual insolvency of the Bank of North Dakota and of the Scandinavian American Bank of Fargo. Along with this was the failure of the effort to sell the state's industrial bonds, and although these have since

been sold, the belief at present seems to be that the Non-Partisan finances are in a hopeless state of collapse. Politically the League may continue for a brief period, but the North Dakota farmer is beginning to realize that wild-cat schemes, if unsuccessful, must be paid for by increased taxes, that political hucksters make poor business managers, and that the majority of the proposed state-owned industries must fail because the success of every business depends on skillful and efficient management.

Professor Bruce shows quite conclusively that even if all the grievances complained of were real there was little need of the Non-Partisan League as a political party. North Dakota is purely an agricultural state and the farmer in the long run gets what legislation he needs because the prosperity of the state depends on his prosperity. The real issues have been beclouded and there has been too much calling of names. Economic questions ought to be settled by arguments based on facts. Vast and expensive enterprises even if financed by a sovereign state are doomed to failure unless wisely managed and based on sound economic principles.

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#### NEW BOOKS

ADAMS, L. E. W. *A study in the commerce of Latium, from the early iron age through the sixth century, B.C.* Smith College classic studies, no. 2. (Northampton, Mass.: Smith College Library. 1921. Pp. 84. 75c.)

ALVORD, C. W. *The Illinois country, 1673-1818.* The centennial history of Illinois, vol. I. (Chicago: McClurg. 1920. \$2.)

BAKELESS, J. *The economic causes of modern wars: a study of the period 1878-1918.* (New York: Moffat, Yard & Co. 1921. Pp. ix, 265. \$4.)  
The David A. Wells prize essay of Williams College.

BEABLE, W. H. *Commercial Russia.* (New York: Macmillan. 1921. Pp. 278. \$3.)

BELL, J. C., JR. *Opening a highway to the Pacific, 1838-1846.* Columbia University studies in history, economics, and public law, vol. XCVI, no. 1. (New York: Longmans. 1921. Pp. 209. \$2.25.)

Although the material for the main thesis begins with 1838, the author has inserted several preliminary chapters covering the earlier history of the Far Northwest including "Discovery and Exploitation," "Diplomacy Determines the Status of Oregon," "British and American Fur Traders," and "Missionary Colonists." Dr. Bell states that his study has grown "out of a wish for more light on one early phase of this expansion." His purpose is to study "the hopes and fears and ideas of a definite and, in its way, articulate group of the American community," namely, farmers and mechanics who were inspired by the migratory traditions of their forefathers. The point of view in this thesis is that of social history rather